

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

No. 391.

Official Organ of the Australasian
Socialist Party.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1917.

Registered at the General Post Office, Sydney,
for transmission by post as a Newspaper.

Price: One Penny

Unity Debate.

Did the S. L. P. Fail to show a Spirit of Unity?

Comrade J. O. Moroney occupied the chair, and called upon Comrade E. E. Judd, of the S.L.P., to open the debate.

E. E. Judd:

Goethe made Wilhelm Meister speak of how highly we should value those who endeavour, with great sacrifices, to forward the good among their fellows. Members of both the S.L.P. and the A.S.P. have made great sacrifices—in some cases devoting their lives—to "forward the good"—the grandest cause of all, "among their fellows." Whilst we justly reverence Marx, De Leon, Liebknecht and others whom we have never seen, we often overlook the worth and nobleness of the comrades we see daily. It is only just to appreciate and value the worth and nobleness of all comrades, irrespective of party lines.

We are living in the most impressive epoch that man has seen. When the statesmen placarded their declarations of war in 1914, they had no more idea of what they were starting than Luther had when he nailed his 95 theses on the church door at Wittenberg on the 31st October, 1517. Human affairs in capitalist countries can never return to their pre-war condition. The Socialists of the world are confronted with the most subtle and brutal ruling class the world has known; so subtle that it has chloroformed millions of its wage-slaves to such an extent that they are prepared to die in defence of its interests; so brutal that it is prepared to make any possible sacrifice—of our class—in its interests. In such an epoch and with such an enemy, scientific socialist unity is vitally necessary. Such an imperative necessity should find us big enough to unite and fight more effectively for the big things of life.

As the Chairman told you, the subject of debate is "The S.L.P. has failed to show a spirit of unity." Although according to the rules of debate the person who takes the affirmative has to speak first, Com. Reardon's seconds have insisted that I speak first.

I hope that unity of all Socialists who believe in S.L.P. principles will result from this debate. We should aim at becoming a very powerful section of the new International. That can only be achieved by organising on scientific Socialist principles.

Divorce cases prove that two parties often come together under a single name and fail to achieve unity and harmony. Two factions under a single name is not unity. I want to see unity in name; unity in structure; and harmony in action. We should aim at securing the compactness of a cannon ball. As parties coming together without understanding each other, and knowing each other's past, often leads to estrangement, I will proceed to explain the past of both parties, and the cause of the unity deadlock.

EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF THE S.L.P.

The Australian Socialist League—now the Socialist Labor Party of Australia—was established in 1887.

Up to the year 1897, the A.S.L. was practically the advance wing of the political Labor movement, its members being the most active and aggressive within the Political Labor League, giving support to the Labor Party on the political field. Socialism, as then understood, was propagated by the A.S.L., and a rule of the League's Constitution (which was not enforced) prohibited its members from supporting any other political party.

In the year mentioned (1897) after the Federal Convention election, the Labor movement was a most lifeless thing, both politically and industrially; whilst the A.S.L. was a mere handful. Finding

themselves outvoted by the vote catching politicians and their supporters on all questions of Socialist principles, the most advanced members of the A.S.L. working within the P.L.L. found it imperative to pull out. With the final severance of the A.S.L. from the P.L.L., the Sydney membership decided to re-shape the movement and place the League on a more scientific foundation.

As a first provision, the latent rule prohibiting members of the A.S.L. from giving support to any other political party or organisation was enforced: At a conference held Easter 1898, a new Constitution was drawn up, a manifesto prepared, and a palliative programme of "Socialist Demands" formulated. Later, a monthly organ, called "The Collectivist," was published, which after being in existence for four months, amalgamated with "The Northern People,"—a privately owned paper published at Newcastle, advocating similar views—and finally evolving into "The People," and Party controlled.

About the year 1899, when preparation was being made to elect the first Federal Parliament, the A.S.L. determined to enter the political field in N.S.W., with a full ticket of six for the Senate. The succeeding N.S.W. state elections were also contested with the same palliative programme and manifesto. This was the last occasion on which the elections were contested with such a palliative platform and manifesto, the 1901 Conference abolishing these, substituting in their place one demand only—collective ownership of the land and socially operated means of production, and production for use.

At the annual conference held Easter, 1907, a resolution was carried to change the name of the party from Australian Socialist League to the Socialist Labor Party of Australia. This resolution was duly ratified by the membership, and from that time the organisation has carried on its activities under the name S.L.P.

In 1907, the S.L.P. of Australia, like the S.L.P. of America and Great Britain, realised the absolute futility of expecting Socialism to be accomplished by political means alone, that the ballot must be backed up by the organised economic might of the working class, as set forth in the Preamble (1905) of the Industrial Workers of the World. The party after considerable deliberation endorsed the I.W.W. Preamble of 1905; prepared a manifesto, issued it to the workers, and assisted in launching the Sydney I.W.W. Club, October, 1907.

Since 1901, the S.L.P. has not only contested N.S.W. State elections, but—with the exception of the 1914 election—every Federal Senate election on a revolutionary platform. At each Senate election (1914 excepted) it has nominated the full ticket of three and paid the penalty of £75 on each occasion for the right of political expression at the ballot box, in addition to the expenses of the campaign.

Though small in numbers, the A.S.L.—S.L.P. has carried on continuous propaganda since 1897, by means of its platform and press through the medium of its N.S.W.'s and Victorian branches. The S.L.P., as the pioneer organisation and the most scientific expression of Socialist thought, holds the most prominent place in the history of the Socialist movement in this country.

FORMATION OF THE S.D.P., I.S.G., S.F.A., A.S.P.

About the early part of 1907, J. J. Morrish (ex-member of the A.S.L.), H. E. Holland (ex-member of the A.S.L.), and one time joint editor of its official organ, "The People," and others formed the

Social Democratic Party, which H. E. Holland afterwards reorganised into the International Socialist Group, which is now the Sydney Branch of the Australian Socialist Party.

S.F.A. FORMED.

In 1907, Tom Mann, of the Socialist Party of Victoria, called a conference of all bodies in Australia claiming to stand for Socialism. The conference met in Melbourne, 1907. The S.L.P. delegates (J. O. Moroney and T. Batho) placed the S.L.P. position before the conference. As the S.L.P. was the most scientific organisation represented, and the only organisation in Australia that had recognised that Socialism could not be achieved by political means alone, and the only organisation that advocated the economic organisation of the working class on the 1905 Preamble of the I.W.W., its delegates insisted that the only scientific basis of unity was for the other Socialist bodies to accept the revolutionary principles, methods and tactics of the S.L.P. The conference refused to agree to that as a basis of unity, only the S.L.P. delegates voting for it. As such organisations as the Social Democratic Vanguard (Queensland), the Social Democratic Federation (Sydney), and a similar body in West Australia, all adjuncts of the Labor Party, were represented on the conference, the defeat of the S.L.P. basis of unity is easily understood. After the S.L.P. delegates withdrew from the conference, the Socialist Federation of Australia, now the Australian Socialist Party, was formed by the other organisations represented at the conference.

S.F.A. AND PALLIATIVES.

Notwithstanding that the S.F.A. endorsed the 1905 Preamble of the I.W.W. at its inception, at the following conference, held in Sydney in 1908, a resolution was passed to rescind the Federation's endorsement of the said Preamble. This was repudiated by the federated organisations. A year later, however, the Preamble was rejected, and palliative proposals were endorsed.

S.L.P. AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

"Since the mission of class conscious, revolutionary, industrial unionism in the approaching social revolution has been understood, the S.L.P. has consistently proclaimed the principle enunciated by Daniel De Leon in his address on the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.W.W., namely: "Without political organisation the Labor movement cannot triumph, without economic organisation the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat."

A.S.P. AND THE ANTI-POLITICAL I.W.W.

Despite the fact that the A.S.P. is a political organisation, it lent its support to the anti-political I.W.W.; although the inconsistency and absurdity of such a position must have been quite obvious. By printing "announcements" of the "Bummery" meetings, and occasionally reports of same, and having its label a standing feature in the official organ of the A.S.P. (International Socialist) for some considerable time, the A.S.P. proclaimed its partisanship with the "Bummery," in contra distinction to the bona fide I.W.W.

UNITY CONFERENCE, 1901.

If further proof of this partisanship of the A.S.P. towards the "Bummery" is needed, we can find incidents of the Unity Conference between the A.S.P. and the S.L.P., May, June, 1912. The S.L.P. recognised that the existence of two political parties claiming to be Socialist (although it was in no way responsible for the second party) could not but have disastrous effects in retarding the Socialist

movement. Therefore, with a desire to end this disunity, the S.L.P. appointed three delegates (Coms. R. Dade, A. Edwards and H. Ostler) to confer with three delegates from the A.S.P. to see if some basis of unity could be arrived at. The delegates met and conferred, but without the desired result. A deadlock was reached at the outset on the question of Industrial Unionism. The S.L.P. delegates insisted that one of the principles to form a basis for unity of the two parties must be a recognition and endorsement of the original preamble of the I.W.W. This the A.S.P. delegates were not prepared to accept, although two of them were disposed to be indifferent as to which I.W.W. was endorsed. H. E. Holland opposed the endorsement, mendaciously termed it "the De Leon I.W.W.," and came forth with devious suggestions. Of course, the S.L.P. delegates would not recede from their position on the I.W.W. Preamble, which stands for both political and industrial action, recognising that if there was to be any unity of the Socialist forces there must be a certain degree of homogeneity among the elements composing the united party, and with the A.S.P. delegates leaning towards the "Bummery," there was nothing for the S.L.P. delegates to do but withdraw.

1913-14 UNITY NEGOTIATIONS.

As a result of the A.S.P. inviting the S.L.P. to confer with it on the question of unity, a conference of delegates from both parties was held at the Queen's Hall, Sydney, on 10th November, 1913.

Comrade Roche (A.S.P.) stated that at a previous conference (1912) the question of supporting the Detroit I.W.W. (1905 Preamble) had been a stumbling block, but this had since been got over by the A.S.P. referring the question of endorsing the Detroit I.W.W. to its branches, with the result that a majority of branches agreed to the endorsement of the Detroit I.W.W. He also stated that they (A.S.P.) realised that the actions of the S.L.P. had been right, and its principles and tactics correct. His co-delegates, Coms. Winspear and Jones, acquiesced in his statements.

At this Conference the principles upon which the proposed united party was to be based were agreed to. At the third meeting of the Unity Conference, held on March 19th, 1914, at the Queen's Hall, it was resolved: "That a committee of five members from each party's executive meet together at a date to be arranged to discuss details of press."

This meeting, though arranged, never took place, only an informal one being held in the A.S.P. room, in Goulburn street, owing to the absence of Com. Jones, of A.S.P., through illness, and of Com. Roche, who was absent in Queensland, and nothing more was done in the matter, the S.L.P. receiving no further communications from the A.S.P. re any further meetings. Subsequently, the Central Branch of the Socialist Labor Party recommended to its General Executive that negotiations be opened again with the A.S.P. in the matter, and the General Secretary of the S.L.P. again communicated with the A.S.P., making arrangements for a meeting in the "People" Office on July 9th, 1914, and at this meeting a proposal regarding the S.L.P. printing plant was submitted by the S.L.P. delegates. The A.S.P. delegates agreed to put the proposal before their Executive Council, which would meet the following week when they would immediately forward us its decision. From that date, July 9th, until November 9th, four months, we received no communication from the A.S.P. On November 9th, we received from them a contrary proposal regarding our printing plant. As the S.L.P. believed that a Revolutionary Socialist Party should own its press and plant, and as the A.S.P. proposals involved the hiring and substitution of, and dependence upon, a printing plant owned by an outside organisation for the party-owned plant, our executive rejected the proposal, and the executive's action was endorsed by the Party. Thus ended the 1913-14 Unity negotiations.

(Continued Next Issue.)

THE MITCHELL LIBRARY

20 NOV. 1917

THE
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Advice Slingers.

AND THE "BLACK" DOCTRINE.

CFC

Strange, my friend, how individuals, organisations and papers whose material (or £ s d) interests are directly opposed to those of the working class, are for ever slinging advice to the workers as to their line of action! It would be humorous, were it not so tragic.

And it is tragic for the simple reason that the workers, for the most part, not understanding their economic (or industrial) position in society drink in their class enemy's words. They do so because they mostly fail to realise that they, by applying brain and brawn, create all wealth, from a carpet tack to the huge industrial plants which they—superintendents and factory hands—run and manage for the benefit of the owning capitalist class who thrive on the surplus values of which the workers are deprived.

It is because they fail to realise the source of this surplus-value and of their consequent failure to understand that they, the exploited necessary class, can have nothing in common with the unnecessary capitalist, exploiting class (as far as material interests are concerned) that the words of the stout gentry and their lackeys do such damage.

You have, for instance, surely noticed that the Employers' Federation and Chambers of Commerce (who get the lion's share of the surplus values) have, during and since the strike, been assuring the workers:—"We are not opposed to unionism—that is, of course, SANE Unionism." Sane Unionism, for them, is the Unionism whose rules they either approve or actually frame—their latest procedure.

Such a Union, not countenancing a sympathy-strike, is eminently SANE from THEIR point of view, and therefore IN-SANE from the WORKERS', since it cannot at the same time conserve the interests of two conflicting classes, each striving for as much as possible of the proceeds of labor. If this were not so there is no excuse for a union's existence.

Taking their cue, the great dailies (who depend for their dividends upon the steady £50 advertisements from the capitalist advertisers) take up the yelp and the doctrine, which impels one set of workers to render assistance to another body engaged in an industrial conflict, is further assailed. These papers, thriving in an atmosphere wherein morality, expressed by "Business is Business," is dictated by the lust for profit, find it hard to understand the action of workers, who with no thought of personal gain, sacrifice their own wage pittance in going to the assistance of their fellows. That morality is so much higher than their own, that they fail to understand it.

Following the newspapers other capitalist lackeys take the floor. Sermons on "The Morality and Immorality of Un-

Starving in Free? Australia.

Charity and Pott's Point Collectors.

By MARCIA.

To-day as one walks through the city streets, one sees numbers of women armed with collection boxes, and gaily decorated booths and tables at every street corner. Some of these last are ornamented with "Union Jacks," and practically all bear the red, white and blue colors which are the emblems of the freest (?) empire in the world.

It is a hot day, and as one saunters along through the heat, the thought comes, what are they collecting for? What patriotic fund is being increased to-day. One approaches a little closer to one of the collection boxes, and what is this that meets our eye. "In aid of the Distressed Women and Children." If spite of the heat a cold shiver comes over one. Distressed women and children in Sydney, in Sunny Australia, Australia abounding with food products and God's own country. But, nevertheless, the fact remains that in spite of all this there is such an amount of misery, poverty and starvation generally, that a collection is being taken up to relieve it.

Thoughts come crowding in quick succession through one's brain, so rapidly do feelings swell one's heart, that for a little while one cannot disentangle the confused mass; but like the heat of a sledge hammer, the one idea strikes and keeps striking. Women and children starving in Australia. Why? Chiefly through unemployment caused through the strike. Then following on that, what caused the strike? The workers, realising that their so-called freedom was to be still further infringed, rebelled against it, and strove by means of a strike, to prevent the introduction of a system which tended to bind them down closer than ever, and make them more abject slaves to a master class.

The outcome of the strike is, unhappily, known to all of us. The workers failed on account of their bad organisation; and not only did they fail to achieve their end, but hundreds, owing to the brave efforts of the "loyalists" were unable to be reinstated; consequently the women and children, already impoverished by the strike, are now in abject misery. So the good, kind Government, which throws the breadwinners out on the industrial scrap heap, allows a collection to be taken up for their women and children.

Just think of it, does it not forcibly drive home to us once more the utter wretchedness of the capitalist system? Australia teeming with food products, abundance for everyone, and yet the majority of its people are unable to enjoy them, some having to put up with the poorest of food, and others actually starving.

This state of affairs is caused by the tools of production being held by a few capitalists who can thus dictate to the rest of humanity how they shall live, and even whether they shall live or starve.

At this point one is recalled to earth by the jingle of a box under your nose, and as you slip a coin in, mechanically your eyes wander to the collector. From her you look around and notice others busy appealing to the passers by, and then a somewhat peculiar circumstance forces itself on your notice. At all the big festivals held for some time past, when thousands of pounds have been collected for various patriotic purposes, you

could see hives of smartly dressed girls and high faluting dames who left their comfortable homes and their pet dogs to assist a good (?) cause.

Where are all these people to-day? One looks in vain for them: the girls and women, and in many cases children, are all from the ranks of the working class. White-faced girls, anxious looking women and thin-faced children take the place of groups of gay, laughing, well-dressed women who have made the principal feature on the other collecting days. To-day these women are absent; no doubt it is cooler motor driving or lounging in deck chairs on the verandahs at Pott's Point, and besides there is no glory or excitement about collecting to-day, it is only for the starving women and children of their own city. If men will go out on strike, well, it's their own fault and they must do the best they can. And what of the men who have been wont to shower their money so freely on other days: are they rushing to help the collectors to-day? Ready to spend any amount to get a smile in return. The money they subscribe is conspicuous by its absence, although they sometimes find time to drop a word—in most cases, an insulting one—to the girls as they pass by.

There is any amount of food for thought to any intelligent man or woman who walks through the streets to-day. A little further on a large silhouette of Australia bearing the motto, "Australia wants peace between capital and labor," meets one's eye. Imagine peace between capital and labor! Will the workers never realise that between capital and labor peace is impossible? While capitalism lasts, the class war must inevitably continue; the capitalist knows that he and the workers have nothing in common, and when the worker becomes convinced of that fact also, there may be hope of his emancipation, not before.

It suddenly seems to overwhelm one for the instant, the wretchedness of it all. The workers are giving their lives in factories and workshops to produce wealth, others are giving their lives away on the battlefield fondly imagining that they are helping to make their country free, and to-day women and children are appealing for charity in Australia.

Fellow workers, can we not resolve that this shall cease? Are we, the producers of all wealth, going to lie down tamely and submit to be trodden on and crushed by the iron heel of capitalism. Recent events would tend to make you pessimistic, but a thought flashes into one's mind, a thought that Ernest Poole has expressed so well that one can't do better than quote him:—"But if there's one thing I want to hang on to, it's my belief in the common crowd. They've had a raw deal since the world began. They can have the whole earth when they want it, and they're beginning to want it hard."

It is this last thought that makes one take courage once more; I, at least, shall hang on to my belief in the "Common Crowd," knowing that in the near future they will recognise their true position in society as workers, which will mean that instead of coming on to the streets asking for charity, they will organise with a view to taking over the means of wealth production, and so reaping the benefit of all they produce.

"Black" doctrine, on the part of the workers is akin to garrotting. So much for the advice intended for the workers' consumption.

How about the same doctrine, applied to the capitalist class. Surely the wordy advice slingers would never think of themselves applying the "Black" doctrine. Oh, no! Just a moment.

At the Federated Master Builders' Convention, held recently in Sydney it was revealed that the individual trade associations are solidifying their internal cohesion, and are, at the same time, moving towards a general amalgamation. South Australia's scheme is to be copied in N.S.W. and Victoria. A fighting fund is proposed to be built up in each State.

Crawling to Politicians.

R. S. Ross, of the V.S.P., Melbourne, is at it again, out on an irresponsible jamboree of ink slinging. He is supporting a nominee of that heterogeneous mass of stagnant minds and lethargic will power, Tudor and Company. On this occasion political slush is served up by the "Socialist" of 12/10/17, wherein R.S.R. has an article supporting D. P. Russell, official Labor candidate for the Grampians, a Federal constituency.

Some excuse might have been possible for the appearance of the screed if Russell had any intention to do as a Socialist would do, base his election on Socialist propaganda. But Russell's party will do as it has done in the past, insist upon the candidate to say naught other than will assist him on to a seat in Parliament. When about to make a statement, or countenance some act during his campaign, Russell will ask himself, "Will this assist me to get the job? If so, I am in favour of it. If not, I am opposed to it." Educational work will not be attempted. Truth may be crushed to obscurity by the two forces; namely, the party's ambition to win the electorate, and Russell's zeal to get a soft job. The usual election confidence trick posing the candidate as a modern Jehovah, ready to sacrifice himself to ensure the well being of the populace will be staged. Shame heroes indulged in by the political gang. First, the people will be gulled, then they will be betrayed. Russell may get into Parliament. The people will not gain anything.

Even if the Labor Party permit Russell a free hand, as the V.S.P. apparently does its editor, allow Russell to advocate whatever he may think suits the occasion, the danger of misrepresenting the working class position will not be lessened. Without any bridle to curb him, hard and fast organisation to control his political campaign, D. P. Russell may advocate something one day and something entirely different on the morrow. The uncontrolled man in the working class movement is as dangerous as any party tied political aspirant. Both are after the plums of office. Placing men in Parliament on Labor Party principles is futile. Shorn of the glamour and stage setting of election phrases, the candidates aspire only to the administration of capitalism; to keep the workers in submission to the dividend wolves—the capitalist class. Capitalism cannot, and will not, be hit by Russell, this only can be done by a revolutionary political party born of, and directly supported by, a revolutionary organisation existing outside Parliament.

The Labor Party bred by the ignorance

on the model of the South Australian Employers' Mutual Association. The different organisations subscribe for a period at the rate of 1/- per cent. on their wages bill. As for its objects the "Daily Telegraph," October 5, says:—"Where any one organisation is involved in some industrial trouble, the weight of the whole trouble is thrown into the scale, and in case of monetary loss, adequate reimbursements are made by the company" into which the employers pay.

No application of the Black Doctrine there.

Just to give us a further illustration as to how the employers abhor the "Black" doctrine, the Interstate Employers' Federation, which recently held its sittings in Melbourne, passed the following motion unanimously:—

"That a more effective organisation of employers throughout the Commonwealth is necessary for the protection of their industrial interests, and the conference therefore recommends the establishment in each State of an Employers' Industrial Disputes Council, consisting of representatives of all employers' organisations, for the purpose of dealing with industrial disputes arising in any section of industry, and that concerted action amongst employers is desirable, so that men, while on strike from one employer, shall not be able to get work from another employer. It is suggested that a system of issuing discharge cards should be introduced, stating shortly the reasons for such discharge."

Have you heard these applications of the "Black" doctrine denounced by the press or the pulpit. Or by the judiciary represented by Rolin, Curlewis or Heydon?

No, friend, you haven't for their denunciations are intended only for the workers' consumption.

of the people is not a revolutionary party. The mere word revolution cause Labor's supporters to see red mists of blood. Consternation and terror rise in their minds. They cry "What is this awful thing sounding of destruction?" "Revolution!" "It implies murder." "We want none of it." "He who talks revolution is mad." Unfit is he to represent our interests in Parliament.

What is the history of the Labor Party this last twelve months or so? What has it done in Parliament? Ask Ross. He knows as well as anybody. Did the Labor Party protest against the Illegal Associations Act? No! Has it protested against the deportation of working class agitators? No! Did it raise any objection against men being thrown into gaol for doing or saying naught? No! Did it demand the abolition of the censorship of strike news? No! When did it object to the administration of the War Precautions Act being taken from civil authority and handed over to the control of a military despot, the State Commandant? Not at all. Did the individuals of the Labor Party help introduce the censorship? Yes! The War Precautions Act? Yes! Have they not been a party consenting to the holding up of working class literature imported from other countries, and even when printed in this country? Yes! Have not the men of this party while refusing to conscript men by law acted more cowardly by coercing men with their tongues, from recruiting platforms into enlisting for war? Yes!

Ross, who claims to be an Internationalist, contradicts himself by supporting an aspirant for a job in a political party, whose international outlook and ideas are circumscribed by the Pacific Ocean. A party akin to the cockerel, who from a dung hill serenades the world; his world bound by the four walls of the barn yard fence.

Russell, if he goes to Parliament, does so to perpetuate and not destroy the State. The State is machinery of exploitation used by our hoary old obsolete system of production. Russell's mission is to make the machinery run more smoothly than it has done in the past.

There is a difference between the Labor and Socialist politician. The object of the latter is to abolish the State; the aim of the former is to keep the State in existence. Immediately a Socialist journalist starts to boost political quacks, beware of him. He either does not understand the Socialist movement, or else he is using it for a foul purpose. In either instance he is but rolling across the steep path boulders that will hinder the Socialist agitation as he toils wearily up the mountain path already impeded by ignorance and superstition. No obstacle becomes any the less easy to overcome, or minimised in harshness if placed or wrought by the hand of an alleged comrade.

From past actions and present doings, it appears as if any political freak, dead beat, or hanger on, plausible limelighter, if he or she be of nice personality, is able to gain the assistance of Bob Ross, with a lift up to a cosy job. Principles seem to appear of secondary importance by which to convince Bob of the need to boost, with adjectives, and ink weakened by tears; anyone and everyone who are out after cheap notoriety, pelf or power.

The Socialist movement can endure opponents. It can stand misrepresentation from outside. It can endure tyranny and persecution. It cannot stand men within its ranks who hoodwink and delude the people. Such actions develop a movement Socialist only in name. So there is but one of two things for Bob Ross to do—Shut up, or get out.

H. SPENCER WOOD,
47 Victoria Street, City,
Melbourne.

RETURN THANKS.

Mrs. E. WEGNER and FAMILY, of 9 Agar street, Miller's Point, wish to THANK all kind friends for letters, cards, floral tributes, and messages of sympathy; especially thanking International Socialist Club, Australian Socialist Party, and Painters and Dockers Union, in their sad bereavement.

"THE HARBOR."

By Ernest Poole.

Price 3/6. Posted 3/9.

From the Australian Socialist Party's Book Depot, 115 Goulburn St, Sydney.

Lessons in Economics.

A Student.

No. 12.

Value and Price To-day.

We have seen in previous lessons that the value of a commodity is the amount of socially necessary labor embodied in it or the amount of socially necessary labor required for its reproduction. Price is ruled by supply and demand, and over a given period the average price denotes the value.

Under dominant monopolistic capitalism the worker is robbed to a greater extent than formerly. That is, they produce a greater amount of surplus value. Price still has a connection with value, but the private ownership of the tools of production and the mammoth trusts allows these private owners to boost up prices to the limit of "what the traffic will bear"—to the limit of the purchasing power of the market. These owners have the advantage of owning the products, the result of previous exploitation of labor; thus dead labor enters into deadly competition with living labor. Hence the amount of socially necessary labor is greatly reduced in the case of great capitalism, compared with small production. Thus it is that the profit rate of trusts and monopolies is greater than that of small firms. The ever growing difference between wages and the price realised for the commodities produced by labor leads many into the false belief that the people are robbed as buyers and consumers. But this is not so. The private ownership of the tools of production is the means whereby the capitalists rob the workers more and more at the seat of production—the fields, mines, and factories—robs them of the full result of their toil; they produce a £ worth of goods and receive, but a few shillings in wages.

The workers as a class do not gain any material advantages through inventions and labor saving devices while private ownership of the tools of production exists. Hence the need for organising industrially in such a manner that they may take and hold all means of production and distribution, and to run them for the benefit of all wealth producers.

Price still has its relation to value in spite of the apparent contradiction, that, although labor creates value, there is such a discrepancy between the wages paid to labor and the price realised by the capitalist.

"The value of a commodity expresses the relation of the necessary normal labor time which must be spent in its production to the social labor time. The accident of a crop above or below the average affects temporarily the price of the particular product, but not its value in so far as there is no permanent change in the time necessary for the production of a given quantity of that product. It follows that if the average price of any product for a number of years be taken, this average is likely to be fairly indicative of the value."

Remembering always that the private ownership of the tools (mines, factories, etc.) of production forces labor to sell itself to the owners of the tools, as living labor cannot compete with only its bare hands against dead labor in the shape of the wonderful mammoth tools of production of to-day; remembering this we can say:

"In the capitalist system of society the economic equality of the workers of the pre-capitalist era is supplanted by the economic equality of the capitalists which decrees the principle: 'equal profit for equal capital,' and enforces this in industry, commerce, and finance, so long as free competition survives in any of these spheres. This means that capital, instead of labor, has become the decisive factor. No longer the quantity of labor incorporated in a commodity, but the cost of production determines the price. Hence the tendency of competing capitalists to reduce the cost of production by increasing the labor of the workers."

"In such industries in which the competitive stage of capitalism is already passed, the price of a commodity is also not determined by the quantity of labor incorporated in such commodity, as in

pre-capitalist days; nor is it determined by the cost of production, as in competitive capitalism. The price now becomes purely arbitrary within the limitation of "what the traffic will bear" to use an expression which has become famous."—Cohn.

The economic fact that the two phases of capitalist society have evolved their own methods of determining price, both in disregard to value, is a negation, but not an annulment of the theory of value as put forth by Karl Marx and enunciated in these lessons. This apparent contradiction is made very clear when we recognise that although the value of labor, while labor is a commodity just the same as beef or coal, is expressed in the average price or wages, the difference between labor and any other commodity is this—Labor creates value. It reproduces its own value, as expressed in wages, in the first few hours of the work day. It then creates a surplus during the rest of the hours worked, for which no wages are paid. This surplus is known as surplus value. It is right here that the worker is robbed, for the employer takes this surplus value and pays nothing for it. Surplus value is the one and only source of profit.

"The determination of price under capitalism on principles other than value merely indicates that the exchange of equivalents is not the essential characteristic of the commodity-producing society. Only during its pre-capitalist phase, owing to the social equality of the members of society, all working under equal conditions of production as owners of their simple tools, price was equal to value. Hence this phase is the starting point for an inquiry into the modifications of the conditions which have resulted in the divergence of price from value. With the transformation of the independent workers into the modern proletariat, their labor power bought by the capitalist's money, became capital while in the possession of the latter, the same as any other commodity he had bought. Therefore the product was no longer the fruit of labor, but of capital. It belonged to capital, and its price was determined by the conditions of capital."

"The former social equality had given way to social inequality. But exchange is a relation of equality. This necessary quality appeared now as that of the capitalists, who, in free competition for the spheres of investment, worked out a general profit rate for all capital. At the same time uneven technical progress in different industries and uneven intensity of labor, even as between individual capitalists in the same industry, resulted in uneven productivity of labor, therefore in uneven cost of production."

"Commodity production, in spite of private property and individual initiative, is essentially social production. Commodities are produced for the social alimentation under a system of social division of labor. Exchange of the products is the social fact without which there would be no economic society, no value, and no theory of economics. The responsibility of the individual producer consists in the relation of his product to the social need. Only socially necessary labor counts, both in relation to the state of social efficiency in production and to the total quantity of a given product socially required."

"In capitalist society social efficiency is gauged by reduced cost of production. The average cost of production, regardless of quantity of labor, determines price and average profit rate. The equation is no longer for value equal value, but for equal capital equal profit."

"It follows from the foregoing consideration that in all forms of the commodity producing society the essential basis of exchange is not the equivalent of commodities, but socially necessary labor."—Cohn.

(To be Continued.)

Every new subscriber you get for "The International Socialist" is a blow struck at Capitalism.

The Axe to the Root.

By the late James Connolly.

Continued.

LAND LEAGUE METHODS.

To Irish men and women especially, I should not need to labor this point. The historic example of their Land League bequeaths to us a precious legacy of wisdom, both practical and revolutionary, outlining our proper course of action. During Land League days in Ireland, when a tenant was evicted from a farm, not only his fellow-tenants but practically the whole country united to help him in his fight. When the evicted farm was rented by another tenant, a land-grabber or "scab," every person in the countryside shunned him as a leper, and still better, fought him as a traitor. Nor did they make the mistake of fighting the traitor and yet working for his employer, the landlord. No; they included both in the one common hostility.

At the command of the Land League, every servant and labourer quit the service of the landlord. In Ireland, it is well to remember, in order to appreciate this act of the labourers, that the landlords were usually better paymasters and more generous employers than the tenant farmers. The labourers, therefore, might reasonably have argued that the fight of the tenant farmers was none of their business. But they indulged in no such blindly selfish hair-splitting. When the landlord had declared war on the tenant by evicting him, the labourers responded by war upon the landlord. Servant boy and servant girl at once quit his service, the carman refused to drive him, the cook to cook for him, his linen remained unwashed, his harvest unreaped, his cows unmilked, his house and fields deserted. The grocer and the butcher, the physician and the school-master, were alike hostile to him: if the children of the land-grabber (scab) entered school all other children rose and left, if the land-grabber or his landlord attended Mass everyone else at Mass walked out in a body. They found it hard to get anyone to serve them or feed them in health, to attend them in sickness, or to bury those dear to them in death. It was this relentless and implacable war upon the land-owning class and traitors among the tenant class which gave the word "boycott" to the English language, through its enforcement against an Irish land-owner, Captain Boycott. It was often horrible, it was always ugly in appearance to the superficial observer, but it was marvellously effective. It put courage and hope and manhood into a class long reckoned as the most enslaved in Europe. It broke the back of the personal despotism of the Irish landlord, and so crippled his social and economic power that Irish landed estates, from being a favorite form of investment for the financial interests, sank to such a position that even the most reckless money-lender would, for a time, scarce accept a mortgage upon them. That it failed of attaining real economic freedom for the Irish people was due, not to any defect in its method of fighting, but rather to the fact that economic questions are not susceptible of being settled within the restricted radius of any one small nation, but are acted upon by influences worldwide in their character.

The Lesson of Ireland.

But how great a lesson for the American worker is to be found in this record of a class struggle in Ireland! The American worker was never yet so low in the social and political scale as the Irish tenant. Yet the Irish tenant rose, and by sheer force of his unity on the economic field shattered the power of his master, whilst the American worker, remaining divided upon the economic field, sinks day by day lower towards serfdom. The Irish tenant had to contend against the overwhelming power of a foreign empire backing up the economic power of a native tyranny, yet he conquered, whilst the American worker, able to become the political sovereign of the country, remains the sport of the political factions of his masters and the slave of their social power.

The Irish tenant, uniting on the economic field, felt his strength, and, carrying the fight into politics, simply swept into oblivion every individual or party that refused to serve his class interests; but the American toilers remain divided on the economic field, and hence are divided and impotent upon the political, zealous servants of every interest but their own.

Need I point the moral more? Everyone who has the interests of the working

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The Axe to the Root.

Continued from Page 3.

class at heart, everyone who wishes to see the Socialist Party command the allegiance of the political hosts of labor, should strive to secure individual union as the solid foundation upon which alone the political unity of the workers can be built up and directed towards a revolutionary end. To this end, all those who work for industrial unionism are truly co-operating, even when they least care for political activities.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

In the report of the Unity debate, published in our last issue, we stated that an alleged copy of the report of same had come to hand. We pointed out that Com. Judd, of the S.L.P., also recognised the inappropriateness of the report. As, however, Com. Judd is of the opinion that the wording of our report may convey the impression that he was responsible for the inappropriateness of the report of the debate, we must in justice to him and satisfy that such was not our intention. We did not put our name to the report, the integrity of Com. Judd, and we ask him to accept our assurance on this point.

Comrades in and around Sydney, who are well versed in economics, or who can take the platform at all, are urgently requested to give their touch with headquarters. Requests are coming in from all quarters for speakers and teachers on economics, and we could fill half a dozen engagements each week if we had the necessary volunteers. Expenses being guaranteed in each case. If you cannot speak, for the love of Mike, come along and do some of the routine work, and thus leave those who can free to look after that side of the movement.

The opportunity is now presenting itself to build up a sound and a large party, and if we don't accept it we shall only have ourselves to blame.

What about giving a hand?

The Central Executive will meet on Saturday, 27th, at 3 o'clock sharp. All delegates are urged to be present.

A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec.

IPSWICH BRANCH.

Since last report we have held two branch meetings. On the 3rd of October Comrade P. Stalker gave a lecture on "The Drink Question" from a Socialist Viewpoint. The lecturer dealt with the useless, superficial palliatives of the Temperance Party, and maintains that only in Socialism was there a solution of present day evils.

With the introduction of the factory system, and the more extensive use of machinery, while it has lessened in a degree the physical burden of toil, has added to it a nervous tension, and an extreme monotony so depressing, as to be positively destructive to mental development and physical health. Add to that, the incessant whirr of machinery, the noxious heat, the vitiated atmosphere, and the close and continuous confinement. Then, terms of unemployment and despair, the workers find in publichouses a relaxation from the troubles which are bearing them down.

A very interesting discussion ensued after the lecture, which was heartily entered into by all members.

The usual business meeting was held on Wednesday, 17th October. An open discussion on "Industrial Unionism" was held by all members. The branch decided upon conference being held in Sydney at the end of the year. A protest was submitted to various papers as follows:—"We, members of the Ipswich branch, Australian Socialist party, emphatically protest against the Prussianised methods used against members of our class. One of these victims of capitalistic brutality, by name 'Monty' Miller, 85 years of age, is at present serving a term of six months' imprisonment for no other reason than

espousing and advocating the mission of working class emancipation from wage-slavery. This man, on his own statement in court, bears the mark of the bayonet wounds inflicted by human skunks of the 'Fire low and lay 'em out' push in that bloody page in the industrial history of Australia known as the Eureka Stockade. Recognising, also, the apathy and indifference of the State and Federal Labor parties, we call upon all workers to organise industrially as the only means whereby we can overthrow this brutal capitalist regime." Copies of this resolution were also sent to "Ross's," "Daily Standard," and Brisbane "Truth."

Yours for Revolutionary Socialism,
P. STALKER, Sec.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

"Much cry and little wool," says an old proverb. An interstate woman speaker addressed members of this branch on Sunday, Oct. 14th, and came with the reputation of a fluent, interesting, working class speaker. In honor of the occasion, the branch's most capable chairman was in charge of the meeting.

Had it been a Christian Sunday School class, instead of an audience of Socialists, the lady's discourse would have been voted admirable in the extreme. For, as an ex-school teacher, she is experienced in talking to children and keeping them in order.

But, a working class audience, if it be class conscious denies that, as the speaker said, "ethics come before economics." Such a statement is as surprising as it is untrue. For, as Marx has said, "the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, . . . from the basis from which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch." In other words, economics dominate the ethics of any society, and not the other way about.

The speaker made one good point, however. In referring to Marx's immortal exhortation, "Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains." She said: "When these words were thrown on a screen recently, a working woman in the audience asked in a puzzled tone, 'Chains? What chains?' for she was entirely ignorant that her class are in chains the world over."

Notwithstanding many comp's errors in recent issues of the "I.S.," and annoying to contributors of articles, members of this branch wish to place on record the gratifying improvement in recent issues of the party's official paper. A glance at the columns of the last two issues, in particular, will prove to all Socialists that the articles published therein are of the highest educational value to every member of the working class.

To those boneheads who are flooding capitalist newspapers with questions like "What means this strike?" and are prating of patriotism and loyalty to the master class, the advice is given that they read such articles as have appeared for the last fortnight in the "I.S."

They would understand, to quote one of these educative articles, that "not only strikes and wars, but their every day troubles and grievances, are the inevitable result of capitalism." And only when they become class conscious and get into one big industrial and political organisation will they be free, and wars and strikes end for all time.

A social and dance will be held in the hall on Wednesday, Oct. 31st. Proceeds are for the benefit of Comrade M. Lazarus, a victimised member of the Carters' and Drivers' Union.

I.M., Press Corr.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Sydney Branch has been still travelling on, although the secretary omitted to put in a report last week. On Sunday, 14th October, Mr. R. G. Edwards occupied the platform in the hall, and gave a very interesting lecture on "An Interpretation of History." The speaker dealt with the subject from three standpoints, and an interesting discussion followed.

On Sunday, 21st October, Com. Ray, lectured on "Working Class Organisation." The lecture advertised was "The Launching of the W.I.U. in Australia," and was to be in answer to false statements made by E. E. Judd at the recent Unity Debate. Later, however, the G.E.B. of the W.I.U. invited the W.I.U. club to prove these statements in public debate; the Club passed the matter on to the S.L.P.,

and so far the G.E.B. have received no reply. Consequently Com. Everitt decided that it would be better to change his lecture. If the debate does not eventuate, we are in hopes of being able to persuade Comrade Everitt to give us his original lecture.

In his address on "Working Class Organisation," the speaker dealt with the aims and objects of the W.I.U. The evening was, in fact, a W.I.U. rally. The members of No. 1 Local being present in full force, a manifesto being distributed to the audience.

Paper sales are fairly brisk. The working class are impoverished by the strike, and consequently cannot afford to spend much on reading matter, but nevertheless the majority of our customers stand loyally to the "I.S.," and the sales are really good.

M. REARDON, Secretary.

THE WASTE OF LIFE.

That twelve thousand written years should have elapsed, and the human race—able to reason and to think, and easily capable of combination in immense armies for its own destruction—should still live from hand to mouth, like cattle and sheep, like the animals of the field and the birds of the woods; that there should not even be roofs to cover the children born, unless those children labour and expend their time to pay for them; that there should not be clothes, unless, again, time and labour are expended to procure them; that there should not be even food for the human race, except they labour as their fathers did twelve thousand years ago; that even water should scarce be accessible to them, unless paid for by labour! In twelve thousand written years the world has not yet built itself a House, nor filled a granary, nor organised itself for its own comfort. It is so marvellous I cannot express the wonder with which it fills me. And more wonderful still if that could be, there are people so infatuated, or, rather, so limited of view, that they glory in this state of things, declaring that work is the main object of man's existence—work for subsistence—and glorying in their wasted time.—Richard Jeffries.

A SONG OF SLAVES.

O, slave of the Needle and Thread!
O, slave of the Sewing Machine!
Your crust of bread ye earn with dread
Lest hunger lurk between.

O, slave of the Factory and Loom!
O, slave of the Mill and the Mine!
Ye weave your doom, ye dig your tomb,
For toil alone is thine.

O, slave of the Spade and the Hoe!
O, slave of the Harrow and Plough!
The seed ye sow, the grain ye grow
Another reaps than thou.

O, slave of the steam-breathing Steed!
O, slave of the Tender and Train!
The demon speed ye needs must feed,
Tho' hungry ye remain.

O, slave of the Bellows and Fire!
O, slave of the Furnace and Flue!
Your limbs perspire, your muscles fire,
Ye forge your chains anew.

O, slaves, is't not more than time
That your servile chains ye broke?
Your brother calls from every clime:
Arise, and add your stroke!
—Thos. C. Auld.

ESSAY COMPETITION.

We have decided to give two prizes for the best two essays on two set subjects. The prize winners will have the choice of a book from the list that will be submitted to them.

The two subjects will be published in the first issue of each month, and the M.S.S. must reach this office before the end of the month.

The essays are to consist of not more than one thousand words. Write clearly in ink and leave plenty of room for editing.

Head essay with "Essay Competition," followed by the subj. pt.

The essays will be judged: 1st, according to matter; 2nd, on general structure. We are endeavouring to find thinkers, not grammarians.

The subjects for this month are:—

(1) POVERTY.

(2) HOW ARE THE WORKING CLASS EXPLOITED?

SOCIALIST HALL

369 Pitt Street.

EVERY FRIDAY EVENING, DANCE.

LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21st.

— RAY EVERITT —

"THE LAUNCHING OF THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION IN AUSTRALIA."

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS.

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members.
Lectures held every Sunday Evening.
Economic Class every Wednesday evening.
Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARCOM.

Secretary, Chas. Jacobsen, Mt. Larcom, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hatte's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.
Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.
Lecture every Sunday evening.
Debating class held every Monday evening.
Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.
Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth. 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover. 6d.; posted, 7d.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagerty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Mutual Aid—P. Kropotkin; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

New Socialism, The—R. R. La-Monte; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Put up the Sword—Adela Pankhurst; paper, 2/6; posted, 2/9.

Positive School of Criminology—Enrico Ferri; cloth. 2/-; posted, 2/2.

Principles of Scientific Socialism—Rev. Vaie; paper, 1/-; posted, 1/1.

Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

Printed and Published by William Josepa Thomas, at 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, for the Australian Socialist Party.